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all the good instructions and comforts which I have heard from you this day; I hope I shall remember some of them whilst I live."

Sufficient evidence has been adduced, I think, to prove that the *Pathway* had left a lasting impression upon Bunyan's mind. His artistic sense taught him the value of the concrete. The abstract teaching of Dent's book is made powerful and effective only when linked with the life-story of an individual sinner. Dent discusses the evils of lying and drunkenness; Bunyan draws a vivid picture of the liar and drunkard. And yet he failed to get entirely from under the weight of the abstract. The weakness of *The Life and Death of Mr. Badman* is found in the many long discussions of the sins to which Mr. Badman is addicted. So long as Bunyan sticks to the story proper, just so long does he hold the individual attention of his reader; interest lags when he begins to preach. This same weakness is found in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, but not to the same degree as in the later story.

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SCHILLER'S *JUNGFRAU VON ORLEANS* AND THE HISTORIC MAID OF ORLEANS¹

It is certainly true that the Maid of Orleans was not without her place in literature before Schiller, but it is equally true that the great dramatist was the first to approach her with that liberality of spirit which discards alike the prejudice of the sceptic, and the blind adoration of the fanatical partisan. One knows that Schiller spared no pains in his preliminary studies, that he read widely, and sought fully to appreciate everything within his reach, which could in any way contribute to a clear conception of the medieval mind, and to a proper understanding of the nature of medieval society; one knows that he trusted much to Hume and Rapin de Thoyras. Yet the Johanna of his play remains in the end essentially a child of his own heart. I shall endeavor in this paper to consider Schiller's heroine in relation to the historic Maid of Orleans.²

¹ The historic character is referred to throughout as the Maid, and Schiller's character as Johanna.

² This historic Maid of Orleans I have sought in the actual evidence concerning her as given by T. Douglas Murray in *Jeanne d'Arc: Being the*

From the Prolog of *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* one receives the impression that Johanna is, even in private life, a girl of unusual character. There is an obvious disparity between her and her surroundings. It is not surprising that Thibaut d'Arc feels anxiety about a daughter the workings of whose mind he is not capable of understanding; nor does it seem improper that Johanna takes no interest in the immediate concerns of the family. It is only fitting that a girl who walks abroad at unusual hours, is raised above the superstitious fears of her neighbors, and converses with the 'wind of the mountains,' should already have given proofs of her exceeding bravery.

Raimond

Denkt nach, wie sie den Tigerwolf bezwang,
Das grimmig wilde Tier, das unsre Heerden
Verwüstete, den Schrecken aller Hirten.
Sie ganz allein, die löwenherz'ge Jungfrau,
Stritt mit dem Wolf und rang das Lamm ihm ab,
Das er im blut'gen Rachen schon davon trug.

Prolog. Sc. 3.

Surely, whether or not one sees in the story of the lamb and the wolf a symbol of the saving of France from the English, it is these characteristics of fearlessness and resource that lead one most naturally to appreciate the Johanna whose thoughts run on war and warlike things. It does not appear impossible that this "löwenherz'ge Jungfrau" should consider that she is certain of success in a mission which God Himself has imposed upon her, the destruction of the foreign yoke in France. The girl who converses with the 'wind of the mountains' may easily come to believe in miracles, and to hear the voice of God saying to her:

"Geh hin! Du sollst auf Erden für mich zeugen."

Prolog. Sc. 4.

To her the helmet which Bertrand brings is but an outward sign of the grace which she already feels upon her; and her conviction that she will not return to her home proceeds not so much from fore-

Story of her Life, her Achievements, and her Death, as attested on Oath and Set forth in the Original documents. Mr. Murray remarks in the preface that this is "the only known instance in which a complete biographical record, of historical importance, has been elicited by evidence taken on oath."

knowledge, as from a proper sense that a tool of the Lord cannot again be put to common use. Before the first scene of the tragedy opens, one can say truly with Raimond:

Da scheint sie mir was Höh'res zu bedeuten,
Und dünkt mir's oft, sie stamm' aus andern Zeiten.

Prolog. Sc. 2.

This Johanna of the Prolog corresponds but ill to the simple girl whom her fellow villagers knew.³ It is true that this girl was fervently religious, and that her habit of kneeling down to pray in unaccustomed places at unaccustomed seasons had drawn attention upon her; but there is no suggestion that these devotional exercises aroused in anyone about her a belief similar to that to which Raimond gives expression. And her own assertion that "I did not go to the fields with the sheep and the other animals"⁴ leaves no grounds for pondering whether or not her physical courage would have induced her to face a wolf single-handed. One cannot, moreover, perceive in Schiller's heroine the industrious maiden who, on the evidence of the villagers, was so sympathetic to the poor; she seems to live too much in a world of her own to be conscious of the daily misfortunes of those about her. Much more human is the historic Maid who, if she did not hear God speaking 'out of the branches of this tree,' not only heard but also saw the Archangel Michael, St. Margaret, and St. Catherine, and at times the Blessed Virgin, who instructed her how to act, at first in private and then in public affairs. One may remark, for example, her blunt statement "I saw them (St. Michael and the angels) with my bodily eyes, as well as I see you" (p. 29). And consider in general the tenor of her replies throughout the Trial. It should be noticed that the 'Voice' or the 'Voices' which she obeys do not reach her except through the mouths of definite persons, as is seen by the following evidence. "This Voice that speaks to you, is it that of an Angel, or of a Saint, or from God direct?" "It is the Voice of Saint Catherine and of Saint Margaret. Their faces are adorned with beautiful crowns, very rich and precious" (p. 28). Johanna, on the other hand, has seen only the Blessed Virgin herself, on one special occasion, and under special circumstances.

³ Cf. the evidence in the Rehabilitation, Depositions at Domremy, p. 210 ff.

⁴ P. 17.

Und einmals, als ich eine lange Nacht
 In frommer Andacht unter diesem Baum
 Gesessen und dem Schlafe widerstand,
 Da trat die Heilige zu mir, ein Schwert
 Und Fahne tragend, aber sonst wie ich
 Als Schäferin gekleidet, und sie sprach zu mir:
 "Ich bin's. Steh auf, Johanna!

Act I. Sc. 10.

One feels that the humble Maid of the visions appeals more to the heart than the lofty virgin of Schiller's Prolog. Thus if the dramatist has retained the historic piety of the Maid, he has given it a more remote, a less directly emotional character. Yet there remain two fundamental qualities which Johanna has in common with the Maid, the goodness and purity in which Raimond so wholeheartedly trusts.

The matter of her projected marriage is one which leads us from the Maid of the village to the Maid of the court and the camp, for it is undoubtedly intimately connected with her belief in her mission. Schiller's heroine has remained cold to the advances of Raimond for the space of three years, because, as has been seen, it was God's will that she should not know man's love; but her conduct is certainly displeasing to her father.⁵ In general the dramatist would appear to agree with the tenor of such facts as we possess, relative to a projected marriage.⁶ In accordance, then, with the will of God, the preservation of her chastity is the bounden duty of Johanna throughout her public career. So much importance, indeed, does Schiller place upon his heroine's virginity, that, whereas in the Prolog we are told of nothing save the voice of God, which speaks to her, we learn now that the Blessed Virgin, herself, had appeared to Johanna in a vision and warned her always to guard her chastity.

Und sie versetzte: "Eine reine Jungfrau
 Vollbringt jedwedes Herrliche auf Erden,
 Wenn sie der ird'schen Liebe widersteht.

Act I. Sc. 10.

And again when the King desires to marry her to one of his nobles, she breaks into an impassioned speech, culminating in the lines:

⁵Thibaut: Du, meine Jüngste, machst mir Gram und Schmerz.

⁶Cf. p. 60.

Der Männer Auge schon, das mich begehrt,
Ist mir ein Grauen und Entheiligung

Act III. Sc. 4.

When, therefore, she finds that despite her efforts her heart is attracted to Lionel, she is horrible in her own eyes; there is nothing hyperbolic in her words to Agnes Sorel:

Verlass mich! Wende dich von mir! Beflecke
Dich nicht mit meiner pesterfüllten Nähe!
Sei glücklich, geh! Mich lass in tiefster Nacht
Mein Unglück, meine Schande, mein Entsetzen
Verbergen.

Act IV. Sc. 2.

It is the thought of the weakness of her flesh towards Lionel that drives her from the Cathedral; it is the knowledge of this weakness, which destroys her sacred vow, which renders her unable to say ought in her own defence, when her father accuses her of complicity with the powers of darkness. Only by submitting without murmur to the divine retribution is she at last enabled to recover her peace of mind; and all her former strength of purpose and force of character returns, when she has looked Lionel in the face and said:

Du bist
Der Feind mir, der verhasste, meines Volkes.
Nichts kann gemein sein zwischen dir und mir.
Nicht lieben kann ich dich.

Act V. Sc. 9.

From the evidence one would incline to say that Schiller had not in making the tragic guilt of Johanna lie in her passing passion for Lionel, introduced an inner meaning into the preservation of her chastity, but rather deepened a meaning it already possessed. For not only was the Maid found to be unspotted, but the perfect modesty of her behavior was not attacked save by the malice of her enemies; nothing in the depositions gives the least grounds for criticizing her morals. While it is obvious that she was careful to guard against all imputations, and to keep men's minds, as far as possible, free from carnal thoughts,⁷ yet there is one aspect of this matter in which the dramatist is at variance with historical fact. The Dunois of the play is from the first attracted by the

⁷ Cf. the evidence of the Count Dunois, p. 234, of the Sieur de Gaucourt, p. 236, of Guillaume de Ricarville, p. 237-238, and of Simon Baucroix, p. 258.

personality of Johanna,⁸ and in Act III. Sc. 1, one discovers him in argument with La Hire as to which of them would make for her the more suitable husband. Even after the cloud has come over her, Dunois, if he makes no further profession of his love, shows that in the depths of his heart it is not dead. The English, who actually were not so explicit, regard Johanna as the paramour of Dunois.⁹ But Dunois in his deposition refutes all suggestion of an amorous connection between himself and the Maid. Indeed, it would appear that not only his passions, but also those of all belonging to the Dauphin's party, were not aroused by the presence of the Maid.¹⁰ Certainly there is no evidence to the contrary. But whereas the dramatist represents his heroine as beautiful,¹¹ one finds nothing touching her looks in the depositions.

Along with her physical beauty goes, in the play, her physical strength; not only is this patent in Act V. Sc. 11, where the breaking of the chains must be regarded in great part as symbolical of the wonderful power of her patriotism, but also in the struggle with Lionel.¹² This strength is tacitly accorded her by the record of her endurance under exhausting conditions, as may be found in the depositions of those who were about her during the months of warfare.¹³ While the fact that she was able to sustain herself on

* Cf. Act I. Sc. 10. Dunois:

Nicht ihren Wundern, ihrem Auge glaub' ich,
Der reinen Unschuld ihres Angesichts.

* Cf. Act II. Sc. 3.

¹⁰ Cf. the evidence as cited in note 7.

¹¹ Cf. Act I. Sc. 9. Raoul:

Denn aus der Tiefe des Gehölzes plötzlich
Trat eine Jungfrau, mit behelmtm Haupt
Wie eine Kriegesgöttin, schön zugleich
Und schrecklich anzusehen,

Act II. Sc. 7. Montgomery:

Furchtbar ist deine Rede, doch dein Blick ist sanft,
Nicht schrecklich bist du in der Nähe anzuschauen;
Es zieht das Herz mich zu der lieblichen Gestalt.

Act III. Sc. 10. Lionel:

Mich jammert deine Jugend, deine Schönheit!

¹² Cf. Act III. Sc. 10.

¹³ Cf. Evidence in the Rehabilitation, *passim*.

very moderate allowances of bread dipped in wine¹⁴ argues that she must have had a considerable fund of strength upon which to draw, Schiller's heroine makes use of her strength in her encounters with the enemy,¹⁵ and in these encounters she shows no mercy.

Johanna

Betrogner Thor! Verlorner! In der Jungfrau Hand
Bist du gefallen, die verderbliche, woraus
Nicht Rettung noch Erlösung mehr zu hoffen ist.
Wenn dich das Unglück in des Krokodils Gewalt
Gegeben oder des gefleckten Tigers Klaun,
Wenn du der Löwenmutter junge Brut geraubt,
Du könntest Mitleid finden und Barmherzigkeit,
Doch tödtlich ist's, der Jungfrau zu begegnen.

Act II. Sc. 7.

The sacred duty of retribution, which at times assumes the form of revenge,¹⁶ has rendered her deaf to all appeals to her humanity.

Johanna

Nicht mein Geschlecht beschwöre! Nenne mich nicht Weib!
Gleichwie die körperlosen Geister, die nicht frein
Auf ird'sche Weise, schliess' ich mich an kein Geschlecht
Der Menschen an, und dieser Panzer deckt kein Herz.

Act II. Sc. 7.

Through the help of the Blessed Virgin she has crushed the natural tenderness of her heart,¹⁷ until she is most at home in the press of battle.

Johanna

Dass der Sturm der Schlacht mich fasste,
Speere sausend mich umtönten
In des heissen Streites Wuth!
Wieder fänd' ich meinen Muth!

Act IV. Sc. 1.

¹⁴ Cf. *Deposition of Dunois*, p. 231.

¹⁵ Cf. besides accounts of her prowess in the mouths of others the fight with Montgomery, Act II. Sc. 7.

¹⁶ Cf. Act II. Sc. 7. Johanna:

Der Tag

Der Rache ist gekommen; nicht lebendig mehr
Zurück messen werdet ihr das heil'ge Meer

¹⁷ Johanna's monologue, Act II. Sc. 8.

In this Schiller is at variance with the evidence as a whole. The witnesses in the Rehabilitation are unanimous with regard to the Maid's lack of blood-thirstiness: indeed, according to them her first thought was always to avoid fighting, if possible. One may take as an example the evidence of Simon Baucroix (p. 258): "When Jeanne saw them in flight and the French following after, she said to the French: 'Let the English go, and slay them not; it is enough for me that they have retreated.'" ¹⁸ The Maid evidently never fully overcame an innate distaste for weapons and their employment. Most explicit are the words of de Séguin (p. 291): "I remember Jeanne was asked why she always marched with a banner in her hand? 'Because,' she answered, 'I do not wish to use my sword, nor to kill anyone.'"

The question of the Maid's liking for arms and fighting leads naturally to that of her qualities as a leader of men. The dramatist hardly makes of her a great captain; she is rather the fearless warrior whom no thought of personal danger restrains, and who seeks to fire those about her to emulate her prowess. Yet from the evidence one must regard her activity in arms also in a very different light. Count Dunois, himself in the forefront of the captains of that time, comments on her astonishing skill in handling men, and in executing manœuvres. ¹⁹ Another captain, the Duke d'Alençon, also speaks in terms of high admiration. ²⁰ And there is further support in the deposition of the knight, Thibault d'Armagnac. ²¹

The entire play and the whole of the evidence agree on the point of the Maid's intense religious enthusiasm, and her belief in the actuality of divine interference in the affairs of men. To quote here would be superfluous. Yet in the attitude of the historical character towards the Church one finds something that is not even hinted at in Schiller's heroine. The Maid claims that, being immediately in the grace of God, she need not implicitly obey the Church. ²² Indeed, she expressly opposes the Church Militant to

¹⁸ When the English were withdrawing from before Orleans.

¹⁹ Cf. p. 233.

²⁰ Cf. p. 268.

²¹ Cf. p. 279.

²² Thus one reads on p. 23: "The Voice that you say appears to you, does it come directly from an angel, or directly from God; or does it come from one of the saints?" "The Voice comes to me from God; and I do not tell you all I know about it: I have far greater fear of doing wrong in saying to you things that would displease it, than I have of answering you."

the Church Triumphant, and asserts her obedience to be to the latter.²³ The Johanna of the play, however, would appear not to question the majesty or authority of the Church Militant, despite the divine origin of her mission.²⁴ Yet she does not act thus through any wish to strengthen her faith in herself, for she is as assured as the Maid of history of continual heavenly succor and protection by which she is enabled to perform things impossible to other mortals. Indeed, this faith in herself sometimes appears to go beyond that of the Maid who says "Without the grace of God I should not know how to do anything" (p. 24).

Endowed with this grace, the Maid cannot rest until she has led to his coronation the Dauphin, the Lieutenant of the 'King of Heaven' in the Kingdom of France. In her letter to the King of England she writes: "And do not think to yourselves that you will get possession of the realm of France from God the King of Heaven, Son of the Blessed Mary; for King Charles will gain it, the true heir: and God, the King of Heaven, so wills it, and it is revealed to him (the King) by the Maid, and he will enter Paris with a good company."²⁵ To this end strives also the Johanna of the play: so the Blessed Mary charges her:

Und führe deines Herren Sohn nach Rheims,
Und krön' ihn mit der königlichen Krone!

Act I. Sc. 10.

But she has another aim, the utter destruction of the enemy. It has been seen already that the spirit of revenge lives in her;²⁶ she goes beyond this, however, in claiming a divine command to kill without compunction.²⁷ As the Maid, on the other hand, slew no man, and at all times attempted where possible to avoid slaughter on the part of others,²⁸ she cannot have held annihilation of the enemy to have been part of her mission. There remains another marked difference between the Maid and Johanna. The Maid was essentially a royalist and that by reason of her conviction that the

²³ Cf. p. 79.

²⁴ Cf. Act I. Sc. 10; where she seeks the Archbishop's blessing.

²⁵ Pp. 39-40; and cf. the evidence of Brother Jean Pasquerel, pp. 269-270.

²⁶ Cf. note 16.

²⁷

Dieses Schwert umgürte dir!
Damit vertilge meines Volkes Feinde.

Act I. Sc. 10.

²⁸ Cf. evidence of de Séguin, as given above.

kingship was a divine institution; but one cannot see in her the patriot, as she breathes in Johanna.²⁹ By the France of which she speaks she seems to understand nothing but the rightful dominions of the Dauphin, as granted him by his heavenly overlord. One may well contrast the words of the Maid to the Constable of France: "Ah! fair Constable, you have not come by my will, but now you are here you are welcome,"³⁰ with Johanna's endeavors, based on an appeal to patriotism, to win over the Duke of Burgundy.³¹ Schiller has given us a heroine who is what the Maid could hardly have been in the France of her time, the embodiment of patriotism. Through her he puts to all men this question:

Was ist unschuldig, heilig, menschlich gut,
Wenn es der Kampf nicht ist ums Vaterland?

Act II. Sc. 10.

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WAS RICHARD BROME AN ACTOR?

Of the early career of the author of *The Antipodes* and *A Jovial Crew* comparatively little is known. Andrews, whose study¹ of Brome is the most complete that has yet appeared, thinks the playwright was born about 1590. But few facts have come down to us concerning Brome's activities between that date and 1635, when, according to the contract discovered by Professor Wallace,² he agreed to deliver to the King's Revels Company at the Salisbury Court — and to this company only — three plays annually for a period of three years, at a salary of 15s. weekly, and with the understanding that he should not print any of his plays without the consent of the company. All that has hitherto been known concerning Brome's history before 1635 has been inferred from

²⁹ Despite Mr. Murray's assertions in his Introduction, p. vi and p. xvii.

³⁰ Cf. deposition of the Duke d'Alençon, p. 267.

³¹ Act II. Sc. 10.

¹ C. E. Andrews, *Richard Brome, A Study of His Life and Works*, Yale Studies in English, XLVI, 1913.

² See his "Shakspeare and the Blackfriars," *Century Magazine*, Sept., 1910, and Andrews, p. 13.